2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Capaya* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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close linguistic affinity with the Cayapa were the Colorados.

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The dialect of the Colorados, however, is so different from that of the Cayapa as to be almost unintelligible to the latter. Their customs, dress, and general culture are also quite distinct, and their territory is of a very different character from that of the Cayapa, being decidedly mountainous, though not far enough inland to be at a great altitude. There is no political or social affinity between the two peoples; in fact, although belonging to the same linguistic stock, the only knowledge one has of the other is that gained from an occasional visit by two or three Cayapa to the Colorado country, or vice versa. It is told as one of the important events of recent times that in returning, several years ago, from a visit to Quito, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa came by way of the Colorado country and spent several days there, and that he finally brought home with him a member of that tribe who visited on the Rio Cayapas for some days before returning to his own people.

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That the Cayapa have wider linguistic affiliations has been recently shown by Drs Beuchat and Rivet,[12] who set forth the fact that there is considerable affinity between the Barbacoas, of which the Cayapa is a dialect, and the Coconuco and Paniquita groups, both of which are in Colombia. The interrelations of the latter two

[12] Affinités des Langues du Sud de la Colombie et du Nord de l'Équateur (Groupes Paniquita, Coconuco et Barbacoa), par H. Beuchat et P. Rivet, extrait du *Muséon*, Louvain, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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352 In these three types of seats the upper surface is perfectly flat, but in the two types shown in pl. LXXXIII, 2, 3, this upper surface is more or less concave. Both have forms somewhat suggestive of the large stone seats which are such a unique feature of the archeology of the province of Manabi. This is especially true of the form shown in fig. 2. Here are two long supporting surfaces which rest upon the floor and support two upright pieces which in turn support the upper curved part of the seat. If this is compared with certain of the Manabi stone seats,[13] a striking resemblance is found. Instead of the under-part being cut away, as in the case of this wooden seat, the Manabi stone seat is solid. It has, however, a broad, flat footing comparable with the two long wooden strips upon which the Cayapa seat rests. Upon this broad footing is a very much narrower supporting column on the top of which rests the concave upper part of the seat. This narrow column is carved into an animal form, so that the resemblance of this seat to that of the Cayapa wooden seat is not so great when viewed from the front as it is if seen from the rear. There is now, of course, no means of determining whether there is any connection between these two forms of seat, but the fact that these two similar types exist, the one being part of the remains of an ancient culture and the other a type of seat made and used at present by the Cayapa, is very interesting.

[13] See Saville, M. H., The Antiquities of Manabi, Ecuador, *Contributions to South American Archeology, The George G. Heye Expedition*, vol. II, pl. XXXV, figs. 1–3, New York, 1910.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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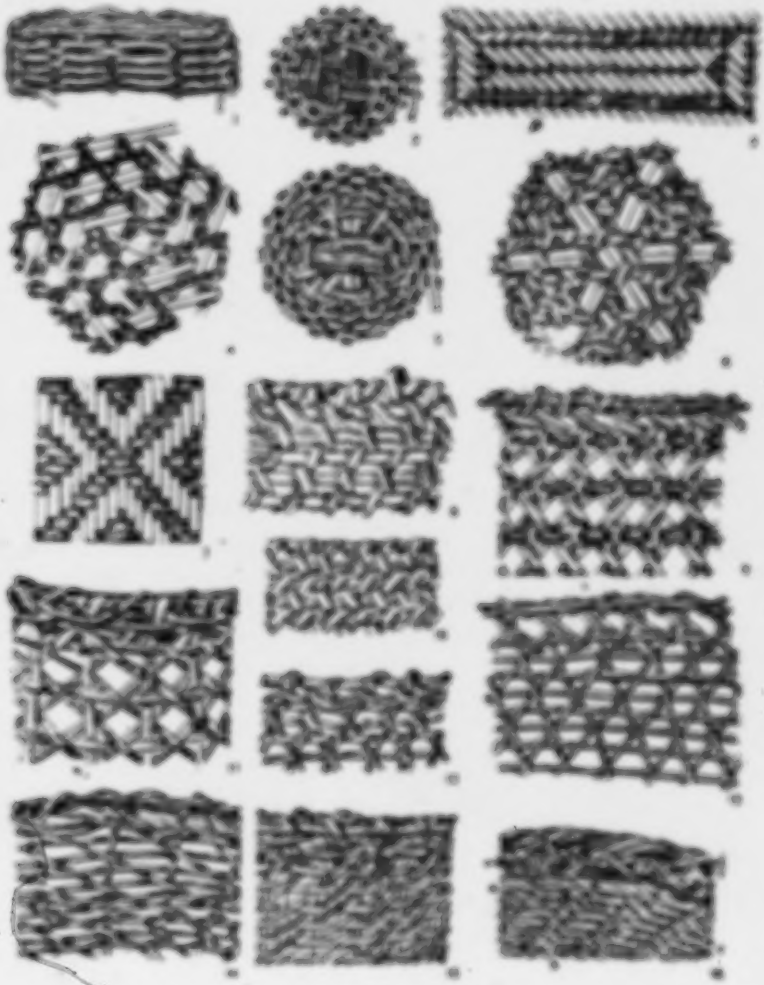

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BASKETRY TECHNICS

[p.192 (A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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[5 2]
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numbers of elements required to change the direction of the line are one and three instead of one, three, and five.

The details of twilled basketry making are well exemplified in the case of the hamper-shape basket which is such a characteristic form among the Cayapo.

In beginning a basket of this hamper form the two sets of elements are laid down at a right angle one to the other upon a level surface, usually a piece of bark cloth spread upon the floor or upon the lap of the weaver. They are first laid with their dark sides uppermost and are crossed in the regular manner as later on in the weaving. Along this initial line the weaver may cause any given element to pass over three of the elements running at right angles to it, and this is frequently done. As frequently, however, such an element passes over one only of the elements that pass in the opposite direction, and the element thus passed over emerges from beneath and in its turn passes over the next element which is laid parallel to the one above mentioned. Thus along the middle line, that is, the starting line, of one of these baskets, there may be a single row in which the elements passing in one direction go over only one of the elements passing in the opposite direction. Beyond this point they pass in the prescribed manner over three and under three, or, in the rare instances in which this is used, over two and under two.

These methods of beginning the base of such a basket are also invariably employed in those baskets in which the sides are made in the more elaborate over-seven and under-one technic above referred to. No instance was observed where this more elaborate technic had been

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

employed upon the bottom of a basket, not even among the Choke.

Having first laid down the elements to be used in forming the bottom of this basket, and having manipulated and crossed them properly for perhaps a couple of rows on each side of the middle line, the whole is carefully inspected and the desired design decided on. If it is determined to make a basket in which one set of the elements shall have its dark surface uppermost while the other has its light surface turned up, the elements already laid down are pulled far enough apart to permit the turning over of the one set in order to bring the light surface into view. Frequently baskets are made in which all the elements used have the same surface exposed, for it is feasible to work out a design in case both sets have the same surface uppermost. In such case the design is given purely by the technic itself; and by changing the direction of the twilling, effective results are obtained.

Having, then, determined on the pattern, and the elements having been properly arranged, the twilling proceeds with the adding of more elements as required according as the size of the bottom increases, until the proper dimensions are reached. This results finally in a quadrangular twilled area of the size needed for the bottom or for the top of the hamper, and with a great number of ends of elements, approximately equal in length, projecting from the sides. From this point on no more elements are added, the elements having been properly selected with respect to length, so that these ends are quite sufficient to complete the sides of the basket. Or-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

diagonal element which passes upward toward the left is almost always the one which passes between a horizontal element and the other diagonal element which passes up toward the right at the points where the three cross one another. This condition is quite different from that in the tcl'nde technic, for here what has been called the third horizontal element passes between the two diagonal ones. No comparison can be made with the ka'pū technic, since there is no point in this where three elements are crossed. 285

In finishing the borders of baskets of this technic the pairs of diagonal elements are usually bent inward and toward the right over a rod of pitigua, the ends of each pair being made to pass out in front of the pair next adjacent and toward the right, and finally down behind the second pair toward the right. To this simple binding, which in principle is the same as that most commonly used in baskets of the ka'pū and the tcl'nde technics, there is frequently added a wrapping of pitigua such as is shown in pl. xcrv, 9. Even more elaborate bindings, such as that exhibited in pl. xcv, 15, are sometimes used by the Cayapa, while among the Cholo a very elaborate one, shown in fig. 16 of the same plate, was found. In its essentials the first is the same as that above described, and it differs only in the number of elements (from three to five) bent over in each group, in having an extra horizontal splint bound along the outside, and in having three courses of wicker run into the relatively large openings just below the bound rim. 285 171

The second mentioned binding is essentially the same as that just described except that the ends of the pairs

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

285 of elements when they reappear upon the inner surface
171 of the basket are made to pass down under the similar pair next to the right, as is shown in pl. xcv, 16, which exhibits an inside view of this border. Thus there is produced a technic somewhat resembling what is commonly called herring-bone. The extreme edge appears to be very elaborately wrapped; this, however, is due to the manner in which two broad, flat wrapping elements are brought around it. So far as observed, this particular type of border finish does not occur among the Cayapa, although it is frequently employed by their Cholo neighbors, with whom this particular technic itself is more commonly used. In fact it is rather rarely used by the Cayapa.

BANDILAS TECHNIC

285 The technic called ba'ndilas by the Cayapa is the only one of the six technics employed by these Indians which has elements passing in four different directions. A horizontal, a vertical, and two opposite diagonal elements are required in this technic. Unlike the several above described, no special method is required in commencing a basket of this technic, its bottom being woven in exactly the same manner as are its sides. The horizontal elements on the bottom turn up, as do the diagonal and vertical ones, to form the elements of the sides. Obviously these elements, which are horizontal upon the bottom of the basket, become vertical when turned up to form the sides, and there is then the necessity of introducing other horizontal elements. This is ac-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[13] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[13] See page 156, note.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the sindico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

Other wooden artieles

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still made by the Cayapa include the /tǎči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

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Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /mǎ^{i}mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

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Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large canteras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

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juice called guarapo in Spanish. 000

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-230). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband. 285 439 [372] [434] [562]

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mučte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use. 411 [224] [412]

Housing. 342 171

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and pole-lath floor

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> and walls. Building materials consist entirely of wood and leaves gathered from the adjacent forest. This type of pile dwelling is one of the diagnostic traits of the Pacific lowland culture area; its distribution extends from western Darien southward to the Santiago River system in Esmeraldas, where it has been introduced by Colombian immigrants. Like most of the present material traits of the lowland Negroid people, their houses appear to be a modified form of an Indian prototype (West 1957:114).

Such structures are a major feature of the cultural landscape of the Cayapas River system as well, but the Indian houses are in marked contrast to the Negro domiciles. The Cayapa houses are nearly always rectangular in ground plan and always larger. Cayapa houses range from approximately ninety feet in length by forty feet in width to perhaps somewhat more than half this size. The piles which are adzed into a square shape are always made of Guayacan, a heavy, black hardwood that is said to resist the inroads of termites for about twenty years. Eight to ten of these posts are placed on the posts six to ten feet above the ground. Bamboo stringers are laid through notches but in the Guayacan posts, and they serve as a foundation for the plankwood flooring that is laid down at right angles to the bamboo stringers. Sometimes a split level construction

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is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

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The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site.

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In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes.

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When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

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small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term ranchos. In general construction these ranchos are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete"person "un hombre completo" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Añapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

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Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait:

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /pí$\breve{s}$u/, plantain /pánda/, sugar cane /éla/, sweet manioc /kú?$\breve{c}$u/, Rascadera (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a taro-like aroid tuber called /túa/, squash /ú/, pineapple /$\breve{c}$íl^{y}a/, beans /múlu/, and bananas /seda/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papá^{i}ya/, oranges /lánsa/, lemons /lémo/, zapote /sapúte/, guabo /$\breve{s}$íl^{y}u/, chirimoya (A. cherimola). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the Taqua and the Chontaduro. The taqua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for taqua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the taqua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /múšu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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